

The Present

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NECESSITY

Of distinguishing

Publick Spirit

FROM

PARTY.



L O N D O N,

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T H E

Present Necessity, &c.

WHEN I read those mutual Accusations in print, which the unhappy Divisions of our Country so frequently produce, I consider them as Invectives of Men provok'd by Opposition or Disappointment, and am always willing to think (what every honest Man should wish) that each Side exaggerates even what they believe and know upon those Occasions. Otherwise, indeed, it could hardly have been possible for the Nation to have maintain'd till now, even that Appearance of Tranquillity, which it still preserves. But yet no Man can flatter himself, with Reason, that all those Assertions are groundless; and, when they are all such as concern the very Safety and Being of our Country, it is a melancholy Consideration, indeed, that any Men, who are sollicitous for its

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Welfare,

Welfare, should, in such Storms of State, still cling to Party for Preservation ; as if they were resolv'd to be saved only their own Way ; and, instead of throwing away all Prejudices and Animosities, and working together with all their Might for their common Preservation, that they should still range themselves as in Battle, and each aim chiefly at sinking the other, when these Differences must End in their common Destruction.

. This Reflection singly has moved the Author of the following Treatise to publish his Thoughts upon this Subject. It is not with a View to serve or please any Set of Men, however distinguishing themselves, or distinguish'd ; but it is from a sincere Concern for the Welfare of all indifferently ; to convince them, if he can, of the Necessity of an impartial Inquiry into the true State of Things ; of discovering, who are their Deceivers ; of dropping Party-views of all Kinds, and uniting in true publick Spirit.

There is, perhaps, no Country in the World, where so much has been said and written upon publick Matters, as in our own ; and yet, perhaps, none, where less has been done for many Years, with a true disinterested Regard to the Publick. This will appear less extraordinary to those, who consider what Spirit has chiefly prevailed ; a Spirit of Interest and Dependency ; a Spirit of Ambition and Revenge ; and (to sum up all the Wickedness and Weakness, which human Nature can contrive or connive at, in one Word) a Spirit of Party. Of what Inconsistencies and Injustice the publick as well as private Conduct of Mankind is composed, is visible to every



every thinking Person ; but he, who imputes all to Intention, has surely a worse Opinion of the World, than it deserves ; especially, as to Men's publick Conduct, which requires somewhat more Consideration than is necessary to private Life ; where most Occurrences are more frequent, and more familiar to the Judgment, without needing much Attention or Reflection. Weakness surely Occasions more Miscarriages than Wick- edness, both in publick and private Life ; a Weakness not necessitated, but wilful ; produced by Prejudice, and maintain'd by Indolence ; and therefore excusable in neither ; but in publick Life, as it is more dangerous, so is it more to be accounted for, from Men's Education, Conver- sation, their Friendships, their Enmities ; so ma- ny Circumstances and Accidents combine, to provide them with Prejudices, and perswade their Indolence to acquiesce under them, that the first Mistake frequently Occasions a whole Life of Er- ror ; for which their Judgment, corrupted in the first Instance, applauds them in every other.

This being the Case, the great Business of an honest Man in this World is to be always Intent upon undeceiving himself and others : a labori- ous, and, perhaps, an ungrateful Employment ; but the most real Interest, the most glorious Am- bition, and (which ought to be a Consideration of more Weight than both these) the most self- approving Conduct, which any Man can pursue : For, if from Error, may almost every human Misfortune be deduced ; he shews himself most a Friend to human Kind, who attacks their great- est Enemy ; and, if Prejudices of all Kinds are destructive of Society, those, which are of the most

most publick Nature, must, of Necessity, be of the most dangerous Consequence. Of these the most fatal is Party, that lurking Mischief, which has been more than once so near destroying all that is valuable in this Nation; which has, for some Ages, interrupted her Happiness, and sapped her Strength; and which (however it may have appear'd to be subdued or expelled) has constantly threatned her under new Disguises, and watch'd every Opportunity of effecting her Ruin.

In the present Times, little need be said, one should imagine, upon the Mischievousness and Dangerousness of Party in general: From what we have heard, and what we must have observ'd, from the Instances we may have read, and the Facts we have seen, every thinking Person must have long contracted such a Detestation for Party, that he can have consider'd with little Credulity and Satisfaction (but rather with Suspicion and Horror) whatever has been derived from that Source.

We have liv'd to see Parties exchange every Thing but their Names, when they have exchanged their Condition. We have seen Men upbraided with being Deserters of their Party, only because they have continued firm to that Virtue, which was their sole Inducement to follow it: Whilst others have contended for the Title of its Assertors, only because they courted its Power, or had established their own by bringing its secret Iniquities to Success and Perfection. We have seen Men, who have acted upon a Principle of Party, for some Time unsuspected, under a Mask of Virtue, break among themselves upon their own narrow Views, and
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expose their past selfish Ends, and iniquitous Means. We have seen Men assume to themselves the Character of Disinterestedness, only because their private interested Views were greater than Dependance and Servility would gratify, and endeavouring to muffle themselves up under a thin Appearance of Virtue, to cover, if they could, that Leprosy of Guilt, which, unless concealed, would frighten all Mankind from approaching them. We have seen Men, who have tried to make even Religion a Tool of their Designs. We have seen the same Men endeavour to laugh it out of Doors, and cry up the Church, the Dissenters, Free-thinking or No-thinking at all, just as it suited best with their present mysterious Purpose. We have seen (the most melancholy Ruin, the most moving Prospect, which human Nature can form) Men of uncommon Abilities, of penetrating Judgment, of laborious Experience, with natural Humanity and Affability to win, and easy Eloquence to persuade, form'd with every Qualification to discern, direct, and assist Mankind : Such Men have we seen, when they have suffered themselves for a Time to float with the Tide of Party, forc'd on with the Stream, knowing all the Danger, but unable to stop, sinking with the Weight of their ill-manag'd Talents ; mistrusted to a Degree, that even notorious Truths in their Mouths became Problems ; a Punishment to themselves, a Reproach to their Friends, an Obstacle to their own Views, useless to Mankind, and lost to their Country.

The Histories of the latest Times inform us, what have been the dreadful Effects of Party
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under different Appearances; what Distraction and Dissolution of all Law and Society it produced, under the Name of Reformation; and how it had almost deprived the Law of its Efficacy, and Society of its Rights, under that of Passive Obedience.

Such Mischiefs will the Avarice, the Ambition, the Envy, and the Resentment of able Men produce; whilst the well-meaning Multitude are led on by Appearances, to obstruct their own Views, and destroy their own Happiness. Thus Party-men will always be (for the greatest Part) insignificant, and oftentimes honestly intimated, whilst the Party they constitute, will always be dangerous, and most often directed to the most pernicious Ends.

Let any Man read the Papers which are daily publish'd in Opposition to each other; let him consider them, without a Bias to either; let him stand an impartial Spectator of the Divisions of his Country; see one Part charg'd with the odious Names of Deceivers and Incendiaries, Men leading and led to the most desperate Purposes, and only differing in the Degrees of that Mischief, which they would effect: The other Part branded with the infamous Appellation of the Corrupters and Betrayers of their Country; Men introducing the most oppressive Power under the most dangerous Form, and fixing a servile Dependence upon that Authority, which can claim its Subsistence alone upon the Preservation of Liberty.

These are Allegations of the highest and the most dreadful Nature; the present Effects we feel, and cannot but dread those which may follow:

low: Mistrust, Ill-will and Detraction, Breach of Friendship, and Interruption of Society, are the present Forerunners of those greater Evils with which we are continually menaced.

Who can consider this Scene with Attention, and be fond of the Partialities which have produc'd it; or put Ambition, Affection, or Resentment in Balance with publick Welfare? For what is there in Power, that should compensate its Difficulties and Uncertainty, but the Opportunity of extending Humanity, and contributing to the Happiness of Society?

In Contention for Power, the End is little adequate to the Means, which Men usually employ in its Pursuit: Who guides the Helm concerns us little; how we are steer'd is the only material Consideration; and whosoever performs well the Drudgery of the State, deserves his Hire, and the necessary Pageantry which attends it. An honest Man can see a Superior without Pain, and not wish every Man disgraced, who is not his Friend, or his Kinsman: A Change of Persons would alter nothing in his Sentiments of Things; nor can he, in his own Breast, admit, that his Affections or Resentments ought to be gratify'd at the Expence of the Publick.

We may read of great Ministers, whom we may admire; but hardly of any, whom we should have envy'd, when in Power. We may envy *Cincinnatus* his Retreat, his withdrawing from those Employments and Honours (when they were no longer necessary to the Preservation of his Country) which he had readily embraced, when they were too difficult and dangerous for Party-men to court them; his leaving to

them the Wages and Trappings of Power, whilst he, in that very small paternal Spot of the Country which he had saved (leaving the Applause of his Fellow-citizens for Self-approbation) preferred the undisturbed Reflection on his past Greatness to its Continuance; and, by his Example, taught those, whom he had led to Victory in Defence of their Liberty, to maintain that Liberty by Frugality and Virtue.

We may envy the Earl of *Clarendon* his Disgrace, his Loss of that Power, which he had hardly earned by his Affection and his Services, through a long Series of Labours and Afflictions, of Difficulties and Dangers; in all which Length of Time, and Variety of Circumstances, he had never divided his Duty to his God, his King, and his Country; but, secure of the Approbation of the former, had often incensed the two latter against him, by contending for their mutual Rights, Advantage and Honour; with the Freedom of a *Briton*, and the Warmth of an honest Man; driven at last from the Sight and Favour of both, for maintaining his Integrity in the Fulness of his Power; calumniated by the Men, in whose Distresses he had embarked himself for favouring others, in his Greatness, who had been their mutual Oppressors, for making Affection and Resentment give Way to Benevolence, and sacrificing Party to publick Utility: Twice persecuted by a Parliament, for being an Enemy to Corruption and undue Influence; once in his Youth, the second Time in his own Administration; and given up by the King, for whose Cause he had suffered, because he would never consent to extend, beyond its safe Bounds,

Bounds, that Power, which he had in a great Measure restored; in his Exile adorned with that true Greatness, which no Prince's Favour can confer; blest with that Philosophy, which only Virtue can teach in Adversity; enjoying that Chearfulness and Leisure, which the Review of a Life well spent can only create; and exerting to the last (what only were left him) his Pen and his Prayers, for the Welfare of his ingrateful Country, and his unkind Master.

These and such Men, and only such, are Objects of Envy; their Station certainly more glorious, than that of a *Cesar* or a *Buckingham*; their Happiness certainly more real.

But, since Party in this Country will probably at all Times prevail, it will at all Times concern us nearly to watch its Pretences and its Progress, and be constantly upon our Guard, to elude its Artifices and defeat its Success. For in such Conflicts of State, as it may not be honourable or safe to engage blindly on any Side; so, it can certainly be neither, to be strictly neuter.

We may detest Party; we may have no private Views for ourselves, or our Friends; but whilst others who have advanced theirs by our Indolence and Inactivity (however we may amuse ourselves with the Satisfaction of a negative Virtue) we are neither wise for ourselves, nor just to our Country. In so general an Engagement, we may be certain, that the good and the evil Genius of our Country both mix in the Fray; and it is our Interest and our Duty to trace them out through all their Concealments. Here is the Distinction, in which every Man is

most interested ; this the only Difference, in which a true Lover of his Country is concerned.

Let us then be no Ways deterr'd or blinded in this righteous Enquiry ; the Happiness, the Safety of our Country exacts it from us ; and let us boldly pluck off the Mask of Party, and strip her of all her Disguises : Let us not fear to mark out Guilt, whether arm'd with Power, or taking Refuge in a temporary Compliance with our Wishes : Let us single out none, in the Pursuit, from Malice ; let us spare none from Favour : Let us shew Party and Publick Spirit to the World in their true Forms ; and let Men chuse between them ; between their Deluder and their Guardian, their Destroyer and Preserver ; when they shall trace Party Spirit through every Winding of Mischief, putting on every Form of Iniquity, or of Virtue ; helping bad Men to deceive others, and good Men to deceive themselves ; affecting the brightest Purposes, when it has the blackest Ends ; and borrowing, like *Milton's* Satan, the Form of an Angel of Light, when its wicked Aim is to disturb the Peace of the World, and its fond Attempt to elude even the Eye of Heaven ; whilst Publick Spirit shall appear as the great Chain, with which the wise Author of Good has connected his whole Creation ; an extended Affection, begun in Self-preservation and Content, diffused to all Beings proportionably to their several Merits, and ended in Adoration of him, who is sole Perfection ; an Effluence of the Divine Benevolence, as it raises and expands itself, approaching nearer to his Nature, effecting his Will, and perfecting the Order of the Universe.

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Having then endeavour'd to give a general Idea of Party and publick Spirit, and to shew the Necessity of distinguishing between them, it will be expedient to the End proposed in this Treatise, to enter more minutely into this Consideration.

In those Times, when the Dissensions between *Whig* and *Tory* were most violent, a Foreigner coming to *England*, and being recommended to one of the former Denomination, ask'd his Friend, one Day, Who were reckoned the prettiest Women? To which the other instantly reply'd, by furnishing with this short Rule, That all the *Whig* Ladies were handsome, and the *Tory* Women as ugly as the Devil. This Kind of Determination (ridiculous as it may appear) most Men, who heartily engage themselves on any Side, will be ready to give, should they be asked, where Party and publick Spirit are to be found. But those, who contend only with a View to unite, who would give Merit its Applause, and Vice its Censure, wherever they find them, will not take up with bold Assertions, or plausible Appearances; for there may, perhaps, upon a strict Enquiry, be no Set of Men, to which either Party or publick Spirit can be totally denied; or, in the true Sense, properly allow'd.

Since then publick Spirit and Party are of such jarring Natures; that, however any violent Commotion of State may seemingly confound them; yet, in Time, they must necessarily separate, and, which ever prevails, must work the Destruction of the other; since Publick Spirit can only promote the Happiness and Reputation of our Country, and the Spirit of Party must effect her Infamy and Ruin;

Ruin; since Party is usually more active and artful to perfect its Designs, than the other is to defeat them, since neither can be absolutely fix'd to any Set or Denomination of Men; because they may equally be engaged in Defence or in Opposition of Power, or even a Mixture of them both be in either, since neither Policy nor Prudence will allow us, from a Diffidence in ourselves or in others, to be quiet Spectators of the Fray, without mixing ourselves in it, let us descend from general Maxims to particular Observations, let us follow those lifted on either Side from their first Engagement, mark their Motive, their Character, and their Conduct, in Opposition or in Office, and learn to trace out from these which Leader they obey.

The Party-man acts, at all Times, from a Motive of Self-interest, Resentment, or Ambition: His Views all center in the Gratification of his own Prejudices and Passions; and, if he adds to this Pursuit the Interests of those Men who have constantly adher'd to him, and been forward to go any Lengths he has proposed, he thinks his Scheme sufficiently Extensive.

The Publick-spirited Man looks abroad for the Motive, and within for the Reward of his Actions; knows no View but publick Good, Benevolence, and Virtue; the general Welfare of his Countrymen is his Aim, and, if he discovers in the Pursuit any particular Interest (tho' even but as a Consequence of that) he almost mistrusts the Integrity of his Purposes.

The Party-man consults the Character of the Times he acts in, or of the Men who can most contribute to his Designs; unaw'd by Truth, and unchecked

unchecked by frequent Detection, he can have Fears, where he knows there is no Danger; or Confidence, where he expects no Security; he can be frugal or profuse of the Treasures of the Publick, tenacious of the Rights of the People, or fertile in Contrivances to destroy them; he has different Names for the same Thing, to solve any Imputation of Contradiction in his Conduct; invests himself in Patriotism, Popularity, and Zeal for Liberty, if in Opposition, to draw the Esteem and Dependency of the Multitude; or shelters his unjustifiable Compliances, if in Office, under the specious Pretences of Loyalty, Necessity of State, and maintaining the just Balance of Power; distinguishing private Crimes into publick Virtues, dejected with every small Disappointment, elate with every little Shew of Advantage, he makes Success the only Test of his Conduct; and, to serve a Turn, is content to part with any publick Reputation, but that of Ability.

The Publick-spirited Man consults only the Constitution of his Country, and considers alone how to guard That wherever it is weakest; as Circumstances vary That, he varies his Conduct; whilst his Principle is neither sway'd by Fashion, nor by an interested Compliance with Power. He scorns any Aid of Falshood, for he acts from an Impulse of Truth. He considers only Realities, and despises Sounds, whether intended for his Fame or Dishonour; the same in Opposition, or in Office; he engages in either but to preserve the true Balance of Power, and quits which ever he sees most likely to destroy it. He considers Society as a Conjunction of Families,

Families, and thinks every bad Action more infamous as its Effects is more diffusive: Most solicitous for his own Conduct, (which alone is in his Power) he feels double Triumph in Success, and no Despair in Disappointment: Tries all his Actions by the Decision of his own Breast; and smiles at Detraction, whilst he enjoys a Conscience of Integrity.

The Party-man allows of no Restraints upon his Conduct: He builds upon Men's Errors and their Passions, and makes it his Business to mislead and to inflame. He begs a little Praise, to support his Vanity, in giving him a Foretaste of that Outside of Adoration (to attain which, he directs all his Words and Actions) and to assist his Designs, by misleading Men to contribute to his Advancement; he flatters those he despises for Interest, and those he hates for Fear; whilst, for either, he betrays those whom he pretends to love: For a true Party-man can have none but pretended Affection; he wages War like a Pyrate, neither gives nor receives Quarter; acknowledges no Laws but his own, and holds no Society, but with those of his own Profession; he thinks every Advantage upon his Enemy allowable; searches Men's private Lives for their Imperfections and Misfortunes, and lays them open to publick Censure and Malice; defames the Virtues, and magnifies the Faults, of all who differ from him in Opinion; construes little Slips into Crimes, and Errors into Intentions: He hates Merit which eclipses him, and oppresses Abilities which rival his own; whilst he gives Refuge to the vilest who embark in his Enterprises, protects their real Crimes, and palliates the worst
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of their Actions. If in Power, he lays no solid Foundations, for he builds nothing with a Purpose that it should last; his Design is always uncompleat, for he conceals his System, that no one but himself may execute it; he founds all his Measures upon a precarious Dependence and Uncertainty: His Policy is Mystery, and short-liv'd Expedients are the Effects which it produces. He decides private Prosperity in behalf of his Followers, confounds all Law and Justice under Party-distinctions, and sacrifices even the Happiness of his Country to his own interested or ambitious Ends. If in Opposition, he has still a View to his future Greatness; and raises no Obstruction to its Operations, but with a Power to destroy it at Pleasure. He fires over the Town to affright the Enemy, but not to batter what, he imagines, he shall have Occasion to repair. He seemingly attacks himself to the Virtuous, that he may the more securely defame them; and to Men of Ability, that he may lessen their Influence. He introduces his Designs under a Cloak of Justice; and drops it, where it would embarrass him, under Pretence of Policy or Custom. He undermines the most righteous Designs, if they interfere with his interested or ambitious Views; whilst he would break even through national Concerns, to effect his Resentment: He raises an Appearance of Guilt in others to reflect on himself an Appearance of Virtue: He anticipates Proof by Assertions, examines with Partiality and Passion; and, if he happens to be just, it is only with a View to be cruel.

The Publick-spirited Man conforms his Conduct to the Laws of God and his Country, and
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indulges to himself no By-Law of Custom or Party : He combats only against Passion and Error, and treats them with most Severity, when he finds them lurking in his own Quarters. He is fond of the Approbation of honest Men, but that only express'd by their Friendship ; for he is offended with too much Praise, and suspects the Man who bestows it : He is always eager to give Merit its Applause, but jealous of the Appearance of Flattery : He is sincere to his own Disadvantage, and faithful to his own Loss : He contends for the Happiness of Society, and thinks, that a Temporary destroying that End can be no desirable Means of securing it : He is warm and steady in Contest, but mixes with all Men indifferently, and is equally concern'd for their Welfare : He seeks no Cause of Contention, and foment none without Necessity : He distinguishes, even in material Points, between the Error of the Head and of the Heart : He arrogates no Judicature over Men's private Actions, and judges impartially of their publick Conduct : He gives human Nature its Allowances under every Distinction, but is most offended with that ill Man, who would dishonour him with his Attachment : He hates no Man, for whom he cannot Esteem he despises : He is jealous of the Abilities of no Man, but of him who makes Use of them in any manner dangerous to Society ; and thinks neglecting one honest Man, is betraying the Cause of Virtue. If in Power, he makes his Foundation extensive and solid, and builds with no rotten Materials : His Design is the Peace and Prosperity of his Country, and therefore he endeavours to make the Structure lasting : He pursues his System
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with Openness and Constancy, and cares not how many or who contribute to Effect it : He never prostitutes Power in defence of Injustice, but supports Authority by faithfully maintaining it within its proper Limits, and seeks his own Happiness in that of his Country : If in Opposition, he prunes the Luxuriances of Authority, that he may preserve its real Strength and Beauty : He frankly embraces every wise and good Man's Friendship, and engages sincerely in every just Cause ; for he knows that no Scheme can be perfect, or ought to be lasting, where these are to be deserted : He hopes for the Innocence of his Adversary ; never plays with a Man's Interest or Reputation ; enquires because he loves Justice ; but demonstrates in his Enquiry that he loves Truth ; traces out Crimes with impartial Attention, but finds them with Reluctance ; divides, in his own Breast, the Guilt from the Guilty ; maintains Humanity in Rigour ; and only submits to the Appearance of being cruel, to preserve the Conscience of being just.

Thus, in every Station and Circumstance, whatever may be the Misinterpretation or Disguise, through every Cloud which Prejudice or Plausibility can cast around them, a Beam of Truth will break forth to assist us in our Search. We may be, for a Time, amused by a Pretence to Loyalty or to Zeal ; we may find ourselves rashly engaged by Attachment or Resentment ; but if our own Ends are truly Publick, if the Welfare of our Country be our real View, and all others are indifferent, but as they contribute to, or depend upon that ; let us leave out all personal Considerations, both of Prejudice and Partiality, upon

all Occasions; let us examine Facts and their Tendency; let us compare Men's Professions with their Conduct, and we shall not be long deceived, to our own, or our Country's Disadvantage. By this Test, which they cannot long evade, they must at last be discovered: For the Aim of Party will be Persons; the Aim of publick Spirit, Things; the Intention of Party to govern; the Intention of publick Spirit to reform; the Principle of Party will be Passion; the Principle of publick Spirit must be Virtue.

The foregoing Considerations have endeavoured to shew, that that Party (the Prevalence of which has been in all Times, and must always be, of the most mischievous and dangerous Consequence to this Nation) can never properly be fixed to any particular Denomination or Profession; and it is to that Uncertainty and Mutability of the Object, that we may justly attribute the Mischief and the Danger.

A natural Desire of Happiness, with some Mixture of Vanity, makes all Men unwilling to allow themselves to have been deceived or misled: They find it an unpleasant Task to trace out the Faults of Persons, upon whom they have long depended; and the Discovery begets new Jealousies, and a general Mistrustfulness, which makes the World very distasteful: And, indeed, this Reluctance is not to be wondred at; it wears so much an Appearance of Wisdom, and even of Virtue, to retain old Habits and Opinions of Men, and of Things; and Attachments, begun upon the most honest Views, may afterwards appear to a Man, so fixed upon him by long Acquaintance and Obligations, that even a good
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Man's Partiality will make him, for a long Time, blind to the most notorious Faults ; and when he cannot avoid seeing them with the rest of the World ; yet still, for a While, his Affections will hold an equal Struggle with his Virtue. But whoever, with the least Experience of the World, has made any serious Reflection upon this Subject, must allow, that Denominations serve only for designing Men, to disunite Society in their Quarrels, and to effect their Purposes, by laying Men under a seeming Obligation, from a mistaken Point of Honour, to concur with them at all Times, right or wrong : As if to form one general Judgment of Persons and Things, were a greater Proof of Justice and Wisdom, than to consider them impartially upon different Occasions ; or that Men could see far enough into Futurity, to be well assured, that Persons would never alter their Conduct, nor Measures their Nature, from Time and Circumstances. Thus Fashion makes Slaves of the Multitude by their own Consent, tho' without their Knowledge ; and false Honour and Custom constitute Party : Thus the World is engaged in Animosities and fierce Contentions, to gratify the Ambition, or the Pride of a few Men : Thus Kingdoms are divided within themselves, and made a Prey to their Enemies from without or within, whilst those, who mean the best, are led on by this blind Zeal, and made Instruments of Mischiefs, to which, by free Choice, they would never have consented.

But as Men of any Religion may adore their Creator, and be just to their Neighbour, and yet no Religion makes all who profess it (of consequence) either honest Men, or true Believers ; so Men, whether

whether in Opposition, or in Office, may equally entertain upright Intentions, whilst no Denomination can (of Necessity) make them true Lovers of their Country. In both Cases, Practice, not Profession, must determine ; as, in the former, the Sincerity of our Hearts, upon the best Information, and a charitable Allowance to all those who profess a different Faith, must undoubtedly be the safest and best Religion, tho' it may interfere with the Zeal of Churchmen ; so in the latter, acting on our own Principles with Integrity, without excluding all Men, who hold a different Conduct from our Good-will and Society, is certainly the wisest and most honest Policy, tho' it may embarrass the Ambition of leading Party-men. Distinction, Separation, and Passion, are the Instruments of their Power ; but he whose Views are nobly unconfin'd by particular Considerations, and takes in the general Welfare of Society, will not be misled by the Example of the Weak, or the Artifices of the Devising, to confound Obstinacy with Constancy, or Partiality with Zeal ; he will make it his Business to break down Partitions, and extinguish Animosities ; he will think Argument, and the Justice of his Cause, sufficient to animate, and that Abuse and Passion ought never to persuade ; he will be candid to his Adversaries, and watchful of his Friends ; he will make Truth and Justice the Rules of his Conduct, and will take no Profession or Person to be the Standard of either : If he be young, he will feel and enjoy his Superiority in Virtue ; but, in Decency to himself, and to the Consent of the wisest Nations in all Ages, will preserve the outward Deference which
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he owes to more Age and Authority ; but, in his own Breast, he will endeavour to distinguish between Appearances and Realities, and be led only by Argument and Proof. He will not mistake Ambition for Patriotism, nor Resentment for Justice ; he will not be seduced by Abilities unsupported by Morals, nor misled by an iniquitous Experience ; he will remember, that *Cesar* raised himself to absolute Power by fighting for his Country, and that *Cromwell* was above two Thirds of his Life a Champion for Liberty. If he has acted any Time upon the Stage of the World, he will make Allowance for mistaken Warmth and Prejudices, which he has felt in his Time ; but he will judge of Mens Ends by their Actions. He will exert his Abilities and Experience, to disabuse Mankind of their Errors, and detect and oppose Party-Spirit wherever he finds it concealed. He will not be dejected with the Detection of a false Friend or Associate, but be animated by every new Deceit and Danger which he discovers, and not sacrifice his Integrity to his Affections, his Indolence, or his Pride.

But if ever we should see the known Rules of Justice and of Truth opposed or evaded ; if we should ever see Men eminent in the Law, prostituting their Learning to disgrace their Profession, and finding a Refuge for Iniquity, even in the very Bulwarks of Justice ; if reformed Churchmen at any Time (tho' they published the most persuasive Arguments against the Errors of *Rome*) should take upon themselves to canonize Men in Power, and sanctify Corruption ; tho' they should write Volumes to disprove a speculative Opinion of the Pope's Authority, if they should
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enjoyn a practical Faith in the Infallibility of an Administration ; could we be imposed upon either by their Sense or their Sanctity ?

But if the very Foundations of the Constitution of this Country should ever be shaken, should Dissoluteness of Morals and Contempt of Religion, should Corruption and Dependency, should perpetual Armies and perpetual Debts, should Increase of publick Expence, and Profusion of publick Treasure, should undue Influence in Elections, and partial Determinations, where Property and Law are concerned, should these ever be contended for and justified, should ever the Advocates for these be Men of high Stations and great Abilities ; should such Men only, who maintain or practise these Doctrines, be favoured and advanced, and no Man venture to oppose them without being discountenanced and defamed ; should an implicit Obedience to the former be then construed Loyalty, and a bold Assertion of Liberty in the latter be interpreted, at least, a Tendency to Treason ; should, in consequence of all this, the meanest Vices become fashionable, and Piety and Virtue be ridicul'd and insulted ; should Men of Rank glory in their Shame, and publicly avow their Interestedness and blind Obedience, whilst, preferring the Vanity of Judgment to the Satisfaction of Virtue, they might even affect to condemn the very Measures which themselves advanced ; should great Armies be maintain'd, when no Man could point out the Necessity ; should the Reputation of this Nation be sunk abroad, her Interposition neglected, and her Commerce reduced ; and at home her Treasures exhausted, her Credit precarious, and her Liberties

Liberties undermin'd in Times of Tranquillity ; we could then have no Doubt, where the Balance wanted Weight ; we might then be very sure, that our Country was reduced to the last Extremity ; and let this Progression of Mischief have been from Chance or from Design, whoever might have contrived, or contributed to it ; in such a Circumstance, we should equally be concern'd to defend her.

Should ever this Nation be sunk to so deplorable a Circumstance, can we imagine, That any Persons in their Senses could then be induced to contribute to her final Destruction, from Motives of old Prejudice, or private Attachments ; or from an Indolence, more criminal and unaccountable than either, in not thinking such Facts worth an impartial Enquiry ?

Will any Man suffer his House to burn, rather than take the Alarm from one he disregards, or rather than expose thereby the Negligence or Fault of a favourite Servant ? In a Case of that vast Importance, no Prejudice should inflame, or Partiality deceive us ; but if, upon Examination, such Facts, or any of them, should ever appear to be true ; who is there so mean, so dead to all Honour, so blind, even to his own Advantage, that he would sculk behind any Pretences of Interest or Diffidence, of Party or Friendship, when his Country called for Succour : Let the narrow-minded reflect, and he would find his own Interest inseparable from that of his Country ; that whatever oppressed and exhausted her, must necessarily weaken and impoverish his own Family ; and that the Spoils he would pillage from her, probably must crush the sacrilegious Possessor :

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Could Friendship (Virtue's noblest Reward) be prostituted to those, who betray'd the most sacred Trust, in contributing to the Destruction of their own Country, and the Oppression of their own Posterity? Would not Men consider, whether those who destroy the first Bonds of Society, have not cancelled every inferior Obligation, would they not remember, That their first Attachments and Affections are owing to their Country, to the Memory of their Ancestors, and the Hopes of their Posterity? And if any Men should, at such a Time, boldly stand up in Defence of the Liberties and Laws, the Prosperity and Honour, of their sinking Country; unaw'd by Power, and uncheck'd by Discountenance or Oppression; could any Man imagine, that he could err in that first step? Who is there, that could be unconcern'd in such a Contest? Who is there, that must not see-through every Artifice, that might be used to defame it? Who is there, that must not know, that such an Opposition could not be Party, it must be publick Spirit?

But, even in such a Case, let Men take publick Spirit for their Guide, as well as their Motive; let them not confound Persons with Things; let them not be transported by Imputations of Guilt, nor led away by Pretences to Virtue, to center all their Views in the Destruction of one Set of Men, and the Advancement of another; let them not divide Mankind in the Choice of their Masters; let them not imagine, that all Men are actuated by the same disinterested Principle; let them mistrust the Disguise of Party Spirit, under the most active Appearance of Virtue, and give the strictest Observance to its Countenance in
every

every Light, and its Actions upon every Occasion; let them act with Firmness, but with Temper; with a necessary Confidence, but not with Credulity; follow no Man blindly, because he may pretend their Views with more Talents and Experience; but force the Designing to be instrumental to publick Good, and defeat all their pernicious Intentions; let them trace out publick Spirit from Facts and from Actions, from the Study of the Constitution of their Country, and from the Impulse of their own Conscience; and let them follow that with steady Resolution, wherever it leads them, tho' even through Calumny and Oppression; for at the last it must, it will conduct them surely to their own, and their Country's Happiness and Glory: Let Men winnow (if they can) the Iniquities of their Country; cast away the useless or pernicious Part, indifferently, whether it comes from their own Stock, or their Neighbours; and, without distinguishing upon what Soil it grew, or by what Hands it had been managed, blend together the Virtue, which they clear, rejoice and strengthen themselves with it for the present, and store up Prosperity and Peace for the Times to come.

F I N I S.



every thing, and his Religion upon every Occa-
 sion; let them act with a humane, but with Tem-
 per; with a necessary Candour, but not with
 Cruelty; follow no Man blindly, because he
 may persuade them; let them with more Liberty and
 Experience; but force the Debauching to be in-
 strumental to publick Good, and direct all their
 pernicious Intensions: let them trade the publick
 Spirit to their Taste and their Actions; from the
 study of the Constitution of their Country; and
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